CAMELS IN THE ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEFS[1]

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The purpose of this paper is to give a brief survey of the representations of camels in the Assyrian bas-reliefs of the first millennium BC. The available evidence consists of actual sculptures in museum collections and also of original drawings made by the excavators, who did not bring back all the reliefs they found, but did make drawings to record many of those now still in the soil. The British Museum holds the drawings made by Austen Henry Layard and draughtsmen working under him at Nineveh and Kalḫu (Nimrud). These, conventionally referred to as Or.Dr. (Original Drawings), are mounted in seven bound volumes in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, and copies made from a selection of these were published in Layard, *Monuments* I [steel engravings] and II [lithographs]. The appropriate drawings have been published, together with those actual reliefs which were removed from the sites and which match them, in the volumes by R. D. Barnett and his collaborators on the sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III, Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal. The appropriate references to these volumes are given in the entries below. Drawings made by Eugène Flandin of the sculptures of Sargon found at Khorsabad are kept in a bound volume in the Département des Antiquités Orientales in the Louvre, and have been published in Albenda, *Sargon.* Steel engravings taken from these were published in Botta and Flandin, *Monument.* Photographs of the actual reliefs from Khorsabad dispersed in different museums, which have appeared in various publications, are republished in the volume by Albenda.

The great majority of the camels shown in the Assyrian reliefs are the one-humped *Camelus dromedarius* or dromedary, native to the Arabian peninsula and therefore normally found in the areas nearest to it. A small number of representations show the two-humped camel, *Camelus bactrianus* or Bactrian camel, native to Central Asia, normally found on the north-eastern margins of the Near East.

Individual representations have been reproduced frequently but here, apart from the principal publication references, citations have been limited to illustrations in the zoologically oriented studies of Bodenheimer, Bulliet, Clutton-Brock and Zeuner listed in the bibliography. With a few exceptions which do not not lend themselves to it, the representations are cited below in the form |drawing=actual slab|, and this pattern is also followed in the bibliographical references.

The representations, by king and location are:

Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC)

The Central Palace at Kalḫu (Nimrud)

The Black Obelisk=BM.WA.118885, from the Central Palace, but not in a precisely recorded location:[2]

Band 1, scene 3: Gilzanu (^{kur}*gíl-za-na-a*)
Or.Dr. III, Pl. High Mound VIII=Or.Dr. I, Pl. 3[3]
Layard, *Monuments* I, Pl. 55; Bulliet, *Camel,* Fig. 70

Band 3, scene 1: Muṣri (^{kur}*mu-uṣ-ri*)
Or.Dr. III, Pl. High Mound XVI=Or.Dr. I, Pl.1
Layard, *Monuments* I, Pl. 53; Zeuner, *Animals,* Fig. 13.31

Both these bands show two-humped (Bactrian) camels among the tribute received from these places, and the accompanying epigraphs of both include the description ANŠE.A.AB.BA^{meš} *šá šu-na-a-a ṣe-ri-ši-na,* "camels whose backs are double". The logogram ANŠE.A.AB.BA, "ass of the

[1] This paper originated in a contribution to a seminar on "The Camel" held at the Insitute of Archaeology of the University of London in February 1991.

[2] The location is discussed in C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (London, 1936), pp. 147–8.

[3] The drawings in Or.Dr. III, which represent only the relief scenes, were made by Layard on the site, while those in Or.Dr. I, which represent the entire monument including the inscriptions, were made subsequently in London (see Gadd, *Stones,* p. 148).

sea(-land)", has been read as *gammalu* in these texts,[4] and subsequently as *ibilu*,[5] presumably because of the southern association of "sea(-land)", *ibilu* being an Arabic loanword (*'ibil*). It is more likely, however, that the correct reading of the logogram in this context is *udru*, a loan from a presumed Indo-Iranian **uštra*,[6] particularly since in his account of his campaign against Gilzanu on the Kurkh Stela (BM.WA.118884) Shalmaneser specifies among the tribute 7 *ud-ra-a-te ša* 2 *gu-un-gu-li-pe-ši-na*,[7] "seven camels whose humps are two", that is to say writing *udrāte* (plural of *udru*) phonetically. The same information is given in the Throne-Base inscription from Nimrud, where the tribute from Gilzanu is said to have included *ú-du-ri*^{meš} *šá šu-un-na gu-ga-li-pe-ši-na*,[8] "camels whose humps are double". Gilzanu cannot be precisely located but it is clear that it was in the area of Lakes Urmia and Van, probably a little to the north-west of Lake Urmia,[9] just beyond the western margin of the area of distribution of the Bactrian camel in the third millennium BC suggested by Compagnoni and Tosi.[10] It is entirely plausible, therefore, to assume that this name was picked up by the Assyrian troops when they encountered this unfamiliar type of camel. That the recording of the Indo-Iranian name was careful and precise in the Kurkh Stela is demonstrated by the fact that further on in the text, when camels are recorded in the contingent of Gindibu the Arab, the name is spelled out phonetically, appropriately, as ^{anše}*gam-ma-lu*.[11] It is possible that the fact that *gam-ma-lu* is here written with the determinative ANŠE, used before words for equids and camelids, while *ud-ra-a-te* has no determinative, may indicate a recognition by the scribe that it was a foreign word. That there was a clear distinction between the two-humped and one-humped camel is demonstrated by the different way in which they are depicted on the Balawat Gates (see below).

If *udru* is the correct reading for ANŠE.A.AB.BA in the context of Gilzanu, however, there must be some question about its appropriateness as part of the tribute from Muṣri. The most usual identification of Muṣri is Egypt, but there were other locations with this name: north Syria; north-eastern Iraq between the upper Zab and the Jabal Maqlub; and possibly north Arabia.[12] Eastern Iraq was already part of the Assyrian empire, and the existence of a Muṣri in north Arabia has been strongly questioned,[13] so the only two reasonable possibilities in this case are Egypt or north Syria. H. Tadmor has argued strongly for an Egyptian identification, with a good statement of the likely historical background,[14] but there is a case for looking again at the evidence.

The band of sculptures representing tribute from Muṣri show a series of animals, and the accompanying text more or less, though not precisely, matches these. The debate arises from the fact that it is not clear what all these animals are. Layard gives useful illustrations of the four frames of this band in *Nineveh and its Remains*: No. 1 (p. 433), No. 2 (p. 435), No. 3 (p. 434), and No. 4 (p. 436).[15] Several of the animals are not easily recognisable, but according to the most natural description they are, from left to right: (a) two Bactrian camels; (b) bull with crescent-shaped horns shown sideways; (c) bull with single horn in line with the eyes; (d) antelope (?) with lyre-shaped horns shown sideways; (e) elephant with high forehead and small ears; (f) middle-sized hairless primate without tail; (g) two small hairless primates with tails; (h) large hairless primate with tail; (i) large primate with tail, long hair on the head and some hair on the shoulders. I use the term primate since it is not clear which are apes and which monkeys. Layard, writing before the the accompanying text had been read and when the different possibilities for the location

[4] E. Michel, *WO* 2 (1955), p. 140.

[5] *CAD* I, p. 2; H. Tadmor, "Que and Muṣri", *IEJ* 11 (1961), pp. 143–50, specifically p. 147 n. 26.

[6] M. Mayerhöfer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg) I (1956), pp. 113–14; III (1976), p. 652; and see W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 148 (1957), p. 31; A. Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica* [Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae B 100] (Helsinki, 1955), pp. 85–7; R. W. Bulliet in E. Yarshatar (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica* IV (London and New York, 1990), p. 730.

[7] Kurkh Stela, reverse 62; Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* III, Pl. 8; H. Genge, *Stelen neuassyrischer Könige* (Berlin, 1965), p. 97; see also B. Meissner and W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1959–81), pp. 298 (*gungulipu*) and 1401 (*udru*).

[8] Throne-Base 18: P. Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), pp. 51–2, 60. I am indebted to Professor W. G. Lambert for drawing this occurrence to my attention.

[9] J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 108–11; W. Röllig, *RLA* III (1957–71), p. 375.

[10] Map reproduced in Clutton-Brock, *Animals*, Fig. 12.6.

[11] Kurkh Stela, reverse 94; Genge, *Stelen*, p. 102.

[12] Conveniently listed in M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer neuassyrischen Darstellungen* [AOAT 26] (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), pp. 172–5.

[13] Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 (1961), p. 146 n. 22.

[14] Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 (1961), pp. 143–50.

[15] Woodcuts executed by George Scharf the younger.

were unknown, and perhaps reflecting the fact that he was more familiar with Asian than African animals, identified these as: (a) Bactrian camels; (b) Indian bull; (c) rhinoceros; (d) antelope, possibly the Indian chikara (Antelope *Bennettii*); (e) Indian elephant (*Elephas Indicus*); (f) possibly ouran outan (if from India), chimpanzee (if from Africa); (g) possibly hounuman (*Simia Entellus*); (h) possibly the bruh (*Simia Nemestrinus*), "the largest of the Indian monkey tribe" ; (i) possibly the wanderoo (*Simia Silenus*), the "maned ape of India". The text describes the animals as: (a) ANŠE.A.AB.BA^{meš} *šá šu-na-a-a ṣe-ri-ši-na*, "camels whose backs are double"; (b) *al-ap nāri* (A.ENGUR), "ox of the river"; (c) *sa-de-e-ia*,[16] "?"; (d) *su-ú-su*, probably a loanword from Egyptian *šs*^{3}*w*, "bubalis antelope";[17] (e) *pi-ra-a-ti*^{meš}, "elephants"; (f) *ba-zi-a-ti*, "?", or if read *pá-gi*(!)*-a-ti*,[18] "monkeys"; (g) *ú-du-mi*^{meš}, "?", or *ú-qup* MI(?)^{meš}, "monkeys".[19] Though the inscription above the scenes is unevenly spaced, being very spread out over Frame 1 and very bunched together over Frame 4, it has no clear relationship with the scenes below. The text relating to the camels runs almost to the end of Frame 2, the word *al-ap* is divided between Frames 2 and 3, and *pi-ra-a-ti* is divided between Frames 3 and 4. Nevertheless, for the first five (a–e) the image and the name seem to match fairly well, and this possibly holds for the others, if the four representations of primates (f–i) are taken to match the two words for monkeys (f–g).

It has to be said that the evidence is equivocal. The Bactrian camels (a) and the elephant (e), which is of Asian (or Indian) rather than African type, do not point to Egypt, while the words for the antelope (d) and the two kinds of monkeys (f–g), if the readings and emendations are correct,[20] do point to Egypt. The bull with crescent horns (b) which appears to match the "ox of the river" of the epigraph might be interpreted as a water-buffalo, but though this creature is present in Egypt it is not clear at what date it was introduced.[21] On the other hand it was already known in Mesopotamia from the third millennium, but not necessarily in north Syria and therefore probably not very likely as tribute from there to Assyria, so the evidence is indecisive. The creature usually taken to be a rhinoceros (c) does not look anything like one, the only element pointing in that direction being the apparently single horn, the rest of the body being very similar to that of the bull. In particular it is shown with hooves like a bull, whereas a rhinoceros has toes like an elephant, something shown here more or less correctly on the elephant. Moreover, the Asian rhinoceros has the particular "armour-plating" which would surely have formed a major element in any depiction of the creature. It could be argued that it represents what a sculptor might have depicted if he was only following a description of the creature by a third party. That, however, is a slippery argument because the same could be said of the elephant, since he would have been unlikely to have seen an African elephant and would only have depicted the more familiar Asian type. In fact he has given the elephant an ox's ears, unlike those of either species,[22] suggesting that he was working from a description rather than from life. Possibly the apparently single horn was actually two horns, seen one behind the other in profile in a manner well known in ancient Near Eastern art. On the other hand, if it were a rhinoceros that is depicted, this would not rule Egypt out, since the African species was known to the Egyptians,[23] and would have been as likely there as in Syria.

One factor that could be taken into account in general is the possibility that a ruler might have had a "zoological garden" containing foreign animals. Such a possibility is demonstrated by a wall painting of the second millennium BC in the tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes, which shows the

[16] Michel (*Welt des Orients* 2 (1955), p. 140) reads this as *sa-ke-e-ia*, but *sa-de-e-ia* is the reading of the *CAD* (S, p. 17), with the definition "(an animal, perhaps a rhinoceros). Tentative identification based on the shape of the animals depicted on the Black Obelisk."

[17] See e.g. R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), p. 271; *CAD* S, p. 418.

[18] *CAD* B, p. 185, a suggestion of B. Landsberger (see Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 (1961), p. 147 n. 28), the emendation of *zi* to *gi* involving the assumption that the four diagonal wedges of the sign should be three over one instead of one over three. Cf. *AHw*, p. 809, *pagûm*, "Affe".

[19] See Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 281, who assumes the form *uqupu* without reference to the MI; Tadmor *IEJ* 11 (1961), p. 147 n. 28; and cf. Egyptian *gf*, "long-tailed monkey" (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 289).

[20] *Pagû* and *ukupu* monkeys were later received by Ashurbanipal among booty from Egypt (see conveniently Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 297).

[21] L. Störk in W. Helck *et al.* (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 5 (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 262 n. 2.

[22] For comparison of the two elephant species see R. D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East* [Qedem 14] (Jerusalem, 1982), p. 3 Fig. 1.

[23] Störk, "Nashorn" in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 4 (1982), p. 351.

arrival in Egypt of an Asian elephant as part of Syrian tribute,[24] presumably at that time to go in a zoological garden.

In the light of these considerations, it appears more likely on balance that in this instance Muṣri was Egypt, but it is best to keep an open mind. If it was Egypt it is unlikely that Bactrian camels were part of the tribute, so since both the text and the relief describe and show two-humped camels almost identical to those shown for Gilzanu, a sculptor's (or scribe's) error may be postulated.[25] Possibly the sculptor having correctly shown the two-humped camel in the Gilzanu band, knowing that camels were needed for Muṣri also, simply repeated what he had done above. The scribe could then have matched the text to the representation.[26]

Balawat

Decorated bronze bands from a gate at the entrance of the temple at Imgur-Enlil (Balawat):[27]

Band IV, right leaf, lower register: Dabigu (^{uru}*da-bi-gu*) in Bit Adini, on the middle Euphrates.[28]
BM.WA.124658 (Rm.1038)
King, *Reliefs*, Pls. XXIII–XXIV, p. 24; Birch and Pinches, *Ornaments*, p. 4 [inscription[29]]; Bulliet, *Camel*, Fig. 28

Two one-humped camels, one immediately behind the other. The visible one is shown with a low pack on the back with the front and back slightly raised, and apparently secured by a cord around the neck and two bands around the haunches under the tail. These are shown as large animals, their heads well above the heads of the men leading them, and their humps higher than the men's shoulders.

Band VII, left leaf, lower register: Gilzanu (^{kur}*gíl-za-na-a-a*)
BM.WA.124652 (Rm.1032)
King, *Reliefs*, Pl. XL, pp. 27–8; Birch and Pinches, *Ornaments*, p. 7 [inscription, reading *Kir-za-na-a-a*[30]]; Bulliet, *Camel*, Fig. 71; Zeuner, *Animals*, Fig. 13.30

Two two-humped (Bactrian) camels with cords around their necks. These are shown as no bigger than cattle, their heads low and their humps no higher than the chests of the men leading them, and considerably smaller than the one-humped beasts on Band IV.

Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC)

The Central Palace at Kalḫu (Nimrud)

The reliefs found in this palace had been removed from the walls in ancient times and were piled against each other rather, as Layard put it, like "the leaves of a gigantic book", so their original locations are not known. The designation "(Relief-)" here, after the actual surviving slabs, as distinct from the designation "Slab", is that used by Barnett in *Tiglath-pileser III*. He connects the following scenes with Tiglath-pileser's eighth campaign against the Arabs under their queen Samsi (*Tiglath-pileser III*, pp. xvii–xviii). They probably depict episodes in 733 BC,[31] concerning which the inscriptions say that the tribute included camels (ANŠE.A.AB.BA), and she-camels (^{anše}*a-na-qa-a-te*), the location probably being north-west Arabia since there is mention of Tema (in the northern Hijaz) in the account.[32]

Series A in Barnett's terminology, consisting of slabs in two registers, *a* above and *b* below, with a band of inscription (sometimes blank) between:

Slab 1b
Or.Dr. III, Pl. Central III = BM.WA.118878 (Relief 1)
Barnett, *Tiglath-pileser III*, Pls. XIII–XIV, p. 8

[24] Barnett, *Ancient Ivories*, p. 6 and Fig. 2.

[25] As already suggested by Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 (1961), p. 147 n. 29.

[26] The many examples of inscriptions across the face of Assyrian relief sculptures suggest that this is the likely sequence.

[27] The probable original arrangement of the bands on the gates is shown conveniently by H. G. Güterbock in *AJA* 61 (1957), Pl. 22 with discussion and bibliography, pp. 67–8.

[28] Honigmann, *RLA* II (1933–6), p. 96.

[29] Also E. Michel, *WO* 4 (1967), pp. 35–6 No. 6.

[30] Also Michel, *WO* 4 (1967), pp. 35–6 No. 10.

[31] I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs — Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem-Leiden, 1982), pp. 83–5 and n. 261.

[32] H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria* (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 80–1 [Annals 23: 18′], 140–3 [Summary Inscription 4: 19′–26′], 225–9 [synoptically arranged passages from Summary Inscriptions; specifically 226, 229], 294 s.v. Arubu [citation of other references].

Slab 5b
Or.Dr. III, Pl. Central XI = Bombay VAM 78 (Relief 2)
Barnett, *Tiglath-pileser III*, Pls. XV–XVI, p. 10
Slab 7b
Or.Dr. III, Pl. Central XIV
Barnett, *Tiglath-pileser III*, Pl. XVII, p. 11

These three slabs, probably representing an arrangement | 1b | 5b | missing | 7b |, form part of a series showing the Assyrian cavalry, led by the king, chasing defeated Beduin. The three slabs show: | an Arab riding a one-humped camel, apparently bare-back, the camel's flank depicted with the ribs showing | traces of a man on a camel which sinks to the ground | missing | an Arab woman riding a one-humped camel on a box-like saddle |.

Slab 4b
Or.Dr. III, Pl. Central IX = BM.WA.118901 (Relief 5)
Barnett, *Tiglath-pileser III*, Pls. XXV–XXVI, p. 9
Slab 3b
Or.Dr. III, Pl. Central VII = Istanbul 23 (part only; Relief 6)
Barnett, *Tiglath-pileser III*, Pls. XXVII–XXVIII, p. 9

These slabs, | 4b | 3b |, show on Slab 4b a woman[33] leading, or followed by, four one-humped camels, the one in front with a cord hanging from its neck, and on Slab 3b part of the hind leg of the last camel.

Sargon (721–705 BC)

The palace of Sargon at Dur-Šarruken (Khorsabad)
Room 10:

Slab 6, upper register
Flandin drawing, 80 = Chicago Oriental Institute A.7362 [part]
Albenda, *Sargon*, Pl. 29, p. 124 [Flandin, *Bas-reliefs*, p. 80]; Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, Pl. 128[34] [steel engraving] = G. Loud, *Khorsabad*, Fig. 55; Albenda, *Sargon*, Fig. 45, p. 172; and in general pp. 69–70.

Three one-humped camels, two of them females (with udders), and a third with a neck-band and halter, with a small object, possibly a bell, hanging from the neck-band. The head-dress of the camel-driver, who wears a short kilt, is damaged and indistinct, but he and the camels form part of a large contingent of tribute-bearers whose head-dress (a close-fitting cap made up of four bands which radiate from the top of the ear over the crown of the head) can be seen clearly in the upper register of Slabs 2–7.[35] This head-dress probably shows this contingent to be from Sam'al,[36] and the camels therefore from Syria.

Sennacherib (704–681 BC)

South-West Palace at Nineveh (Kuyunjik)
There are three rooms in this palace which contain sculptures showing camels:

Room XXXVI, which has scenes showing the siege of Lachish in Palestine in 701 BC:
Slab 8
Or.Dr. I, Pl. 59 (Layard) = BM.WA.124907
Barnett, *Sennacherib*, Nos. 431a (Pl. 332, p. 102); Bulliet, *Camel*, Fig. 32 = 431c (Pl. 333, p. 103; and general view of the Room, Pl. 322); Bodenheimer, *Animal* (1972), Pl. XXV.B.

A laden one-humped camel is shown being driven out of the defeated city by men with the characteristic Judaean head-dress. The camel is being led by a cord around the neck and another

[33] Possibly Samsi herself according to Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, p. 85 n. 261.
[34] In Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, this plate is numbered 98 and labelled "Salle V, 25", but it is bound between Pls. 127 and 129 and it is clear from the general view of the whole room on Pl. 122 that it actually represents Room 10, Slab 6.
[35] Botta and Flandin, *Monument*, Pls. 124–9; Albenda, *Sargon*, Pls. 27–30.
[36] Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, p. 186 and Fig. 103 (p. 189).

around the nose; a bell hangs from its neck and its load is secured by a cord around the chest and another under the tail. This was therefore a camel in local use in Palestine. This is not surprising because, even if they were not raised in Judah proper, they could be easily obtained from neighbouring areas, particularly the Negeb (Is 30: 6) and further south (Is 60: 6 [Midian = the Hijaz]), and according to the Old Testament they were taken as part of plunder from the area of Gerar by Asa in the ninth century (2 Chron 14: 15), and also from Transjordan (Ezek 25: 5 [Ammon]) and southern Syria (Jer 49: 29, 32 [Kedar and the Hazor area]).[37]

Room LI, which shows scenes in southern Babylonia:

Slab ?

Or.Dr. I, Pl. 51 (probably by Layard)

Barnett, *Sennacherib*, No. 553a (Pl. 428, p. 122), and general view of the Room, Pl. 424.

This is only partially preserved but appears to show a pair of very large one-humped camels being led along in a file of booty. They have a cord in front of the hump and around the chest behind the foreleg. There is nothing unexpected in the presence of camels in Babylonia.

Room XLIII, which probably shows scenes in Elam (some have suggested on the grounds of style that the sculptures in this Room were carved after the time of Sennacherib, but this does not affect the present issue):

Slab 2

Or.Dr. I, Pl. 66 (probably by Layard or Cooper)

Barnett, *Sennacherib*, No. 473a (Pl. 372, p. 111), and general view of the Room, Pl. 370; Bulliet, *Camel*, Fig. 30

Slab 4

Or.Dr. I, Pl. 65 (Layard) = Or.Dr. IV, Pl. XI (unidentified artist)

Barnett, *Sennacherib*, Nos. 475a = 475b (Pl. 373, p. 111).

One slab in this room shows a city under siege and others show Elamite deportees, so there is a good case for placing the subject in Elam. The camel reliefs show one-humped animals apparently being employed to transport materials for building siege-ramps against a city. On Slab 2 the camel (only partially preserved) is shown seated with a man with his foot on its neck. Its load is secured by cords under the neck, around the chest behind the foreleg, and under the tail. That on Slab 4 is shown with a cord around its neck, and a load secured by cords under the neck and under the tail. They are being attended by Judaeans (wrap-around head-dress with hanging flap) and what appear to be Sam'alians (cap with side-flaps and pointed top lying backwards, a head-dress different from that of Sargon's time).[38] These same two groups, Judaeans and Sam'alians, are also shown acting as labourers in the bull-moving scenes associated with the building of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, some of the Sam'alians with the ear-flaps down and others up. They may therefore be seen as captive forced labour used for palace building in the homeland and for military construction operations in the field. This does not necessarily conflict with an identification of this location as Elam, but it leaves open the question of whether the camels were part of the travelling equipment of the Assyrian army or put into service on the spot.

[37] There are three words for camels in the Old Testament: (a) *gāmāl* (54 occurrences (including Is 60: 6), cited with contexts in D. J. A. Clines (ed.), *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* II (Sheffield, 1995), pp. 364–5); (b) *beker* (m.), *bikrâ* (f.), (3 probable occurrences: Is 60: 6 (m.) [from Midian]; Jer 2: 23 (f.) and Ezek 27: 21 [from Kedar ("lamb" in most translations)]; see F. I. Anderson and A. D. Forbes, *The Vocabulary of the Old Testament* (Rome, 1992), pp. 60, 482 No. 1031; recent lexicons cite only Is 60: 6 and Jer 2: 23: Clines, *Dictionary* II, pp. 173, 174; R. Meyer and H. Donner, *Wilhelm Gesenius Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (18th ed.; Berlin etc., 1987), p. 150); and (c) *kirkārâ* (f.), (a single occurrence in Is 66: 20, traditionally translated "dromedary" or "camel", but with no clear supporting evidence; see e.g. W. Baumgartner *et al.*, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* II (3rd ed.; Leiden, 1974), p. 474; and cf. H. R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* (Missoula, 1978), who lists it, p. 134, without comment). There is a single reference to a camel (*gml*), apparently as part of tax dues, on a fourth-century Aramaic ostracon from Arad (Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981), p. 162 No. 24.1).

[38] Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer*, pp. 183–5 and Figs. 101–2 (p. 189). Compare in particular the stela from Zincirli showing King Bar-rakib with his scribe, in which the king wears a cap with pointed top and ear-flaps tied up, e.g. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), Pl. 162; (paperback ed.; 1970), Fig. 358 (marginally less clear reproduction); G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing* [Schweich Lectures 1944] (rev. ed.; London, 1976), Pl. 33.1.

Ashurbanipal (668–627 BC)

The North Palace at Nineveh (Kuyunjik)

There are two rooms in this palace which contain sculptures showing camels:

Room L, which shows scenes of a war against the Arabs:

Slab 1
Or.Dr. VII, Pls. 27 and 28 (W. Boutcher)
Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, Pl. XXXII, pp. 15–16, 45

Slab 3
Or.Dr. VII, Pl. 27 (Boutcher)
Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, Pl. XXXII, p. 45

Slab 4
Or.Dr. VII, Pl. 29 (Boutcher)
Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, Pl. XXXII, p. 45

Slab 5
Or.Dr. VII, Pl. 29 (Boutcher)
Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, Pl. XXXII, p. 45

Slab 6
Or.Dr. VII, Pl. 30 (Boutcher)
Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, Pl. XXXII, p. 45

Slab 10
Vatican 14997
Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, Pl. XXXIII, p. 45; Bulliet, *Camel*, Fig. 35

Slab 11
BM.WA.124925
Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, Pl. XXXIII, p. 45

Slab 12
BM.WA.124926
Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, Pl. XXXIII, p. 45; Clutton-Brock, Animals, Fig. 12.7; Zeuner, Animals, Fig. 13.12

These all show Assyrian troops fighting Arabs who are riding one-humped camels.

Room S[1], slabs which had fallen into Room S from the storey above:

Slab B
Or.Dr. V, Pl. 26 (Boutcher) = Berlin VA.965
Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, Pl. LXVI, pp. 58–9

This shows two one-humped camels sitting together, "making love" according to Barnett, in an Assyrian military camp. Clutton-Brock, following Van Gelder, has made a useful distinction between domestic and domesticated animals.[39] The former are those whose breeding is controlled by man and whose characteristics have been changed over time by selective breeding in order to bring them into a state convenient to man. The latter are those which may breed in captivity, but whose breeding is not controlled by man and whose characteristics remain basically unchanged. The camel belongs to the latter group, and has characteristics of toughness and endurance which are valuable to man and which would be jeopardised if they were selectively bred to eliminate the associated, less convenient, characteristic of independence.

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